CHAPTER VI.

KRISHNARĀJA WODEYAR II, 1734-1766—(*contd.*)

Fourth Phase: 1748-1751: Chanda Sahib's activities in the Karnatak, 1748-1749—His activities continued, 1749-1750—*The Karnatak War of Succession*, 1750-1751—Period of peace and security in Mysore, 1748-1751—*Fifth Phase:* 1751-1755: The contest for the Nawabship of Arcot and Trichinopoly (down to 1751); Chanda Sahib *vs.* Muhammad Ali—The contest continued, 1751-1752—The contest renewed, 1752-1755—Foreign politics of Mysore, 1751-1755—Mysore's part in the contest for the Nawabship of Arcot and Trichinopoly, 1751-1752: Trichinopoly, the objective of the Dalavais—Southern movements of Karachuri Nanjarajaiya—Progress of the Mysoreans and Murari Rao—Their services to Muhammad Ali and his allies during the contest—Muhammad Ali's attitude towards Mysore.

Fourth Phase: 1748-1751.

Chandā Sāhib's activities in the Karnāṭak, 1748-1749.

WE may now revert to the activities of Chandā Sāhib whom we left a prisoner in the hands of the Mahrattas at Satāra in 1741.[1] In 1748, Chandā Sāhib obtained his release with the assistance of the French (under M. Dupleix) at Pondicherry, and through the mediation of his own Dewān Śēshagiri Rao.[2] About this time, northern Karnāṭak—included in the *subāh* of Adoni under Muzaffar Jang, son of Mutuwussil Khān and grandson (*i.e.*, daughter's son) of Nizām-ul-mulk—was distracted by the internecine quarrels of the chiefs

1. *Vide*, for general references on this section, *Wilks*, I. 282-303; *C. H. I.*, V. 126-128, 134; *Tanjore Dist. Gaz.*; I. 46-47; *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 3-4. For specific references, see *infra*.
2. *Di. A. Pi.*, IV. 124-125; *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 3.

of Harapanahaḷḷi and Chitaldrug, the former of whom was backed up by the rulers of Ikkēri (Bednūr), Rāyadurg and Savaṇūr.[3] Chandā Sāhib, however, on his way to the south, espoused the cause of Hiriya-Mēdekerē Nāyaka (1721-1749), chief of Chitaldrug,[4] and in February 1749 took part in the battle of Māyakoṇḍa, in which his eldest son Abīd Sāhib and the chief lost their lives.[5] Chandā followed up this reverse to Adoni. In May, Muzaffar Jang himself proceeded with Immaḍi-Kastūrī-Rangappa Nāyaka (1749-1754), son and successor of Medekere Nāyaka, and laid siege to the fort of Santebennūr, but was repulsed with loss by Basappa Nāyaka II of Ikkēri (1739-1754).[6] Indeed, Muzaffar Jang's authority seemed to be little recognised in this part of the Karnāṭak during the very first year of Nizām-ul-mulk's death (1748) and the succession to the Nizāmate of the Deccan of Nāsir Jang (1748-1750).

His activities continued, 1749-1750.

At this juncture, Chandā Sāhib, well posted with the state of affairs in the country since 1741, not only promised to establish Muzaffar in the *subāh* of Adoni for, it is said, a crore of rupees,[7] but also, with a view to secure for himself Arcot and Trichinopoly from Nawāb

3. *Ke. N. V.*, XI, vv. 10-12, 48-53, etc.; see also *Haid. Nām.*, l.c. According to the latter source, Medekere Nāyaka of Chitaldrug fought against the chiefs of Harapanahaḷḷi, Rāyadurg, Sāvaṇūr and Bednūr, on behalf of Murāri Rao (of Gooty). Probably most of the local chiefs, about 1748-1749, resented the pretensions of Murāri to the *chauth* of the Karnāṭak.

4. *Haid. Nām.*, l.c.

5. *Ke. N. V.*, XI, v. 49 (f.n. 1). The event is dated in this work in *Vibhava*, *Phālguṇa* (February 1749). Cf. Wilks's date, March 1748 (I. 285, f.n.), for which there is no evidence. See also *Haid. Nām.*, l.c.; *Di. A. Pi.*, VI. 102, 185-186: *Notes* dated June 29, and September 28, 1749. Māyakoṇḍa is the chief village in a *hōbḷi* of that name in Dāvaṇagere taluk, Chitaldrug district (see *List of Villages*, 169).

6. *Ibid*, vv. 51-52 (f.n. 2). The event is dated in this work in *Śukla*, *Jyēṣṭha* (May 1749). Cf. *Tuzak.*, pp. 136-137, referring in a general way to the affairs of Chitaldrug and Bednūr.

7. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 4.

Anwar-ud-dīn, infused him (Muzaffar Jang) with hopes of being eventually made the master of the whole of the Karnāṭak-Pāyanghāṭ.[8] About July 1749, he further succeeded in exacting a tribute of rupees two and a half lakhs from the chief of Ikkēri for Muzaffar,[9] and then marched on with the latter towards Arcot. Having in the meanwhile enlisted the services of a French contingent from Pondicherry, Chandā, in July, gave battle to Anwar-ud-dīn at Āmbūrgaḍh (Āmbūr). On August 3, Anwar-ud-dīn was, during negotiations for peace, treacherously attacked and slain.[10] And Chandā, formally proclaimed as Nawāb of Arcot by Muzaffar Jang, proceeded with him to Pondicherry. During September-October, it became his (Chandā's) ambition "to conquer all the countries from Mysore up to the Narbada and rule as the Nizam did formerly"; and in this view the occupation of Trichinopoly and Tanjore was his immediate objective.[11] In November, he marched with the French troops under M. d'Auteuil against Trichinopoly but he soon diverted his attention towards Tanjore, from whose ruler Pratāp Singh (1740-1763) he sought to exact a large tribute as the new Nawāb of Arcot. The siege of Tanjore was protracted for three months but Chandā was compelled to raise it and retire to Pondicherry in February 1750, alarmed by the news of Nāsir Jang's march from the Deccan to the Karnāṭak with an English detachment and a large army (drawn from various parts of the country), to contest the claims of his nephew Muzaffar Jang to the succession to the Karnāṭak.[12]

8. *Tuzak.*, pp. 137-138; cf. *Di. A. Pi.*, VI. 186: l.c.
9. *Di. A. Pi.*, VI. 107-108: *Notes* dated July 2, 1749; cf. Dodwell (*Ibid*, 106, f.n. 1, and *Introduction*, p. VI) in the light of *Ke. N. V.* and other sources cited *supra*.
10. *Tuzak.*, pp. 141-147; also *Haid. Nām.*, l.c.
11. *Di. A. Pi.*, VI. 215: *Notes* dated October 6, 1749; also 174, 210-211: *Notes* dated September 20, and October 5, 1749.
12. *Haid. Nām.*, l.c.

The Karnāṭak War of Succession, 1750-1751.

In April, however, Nāsir Jang, having caused panic to Muzaffar's allies near Valudavūr, took him prisoner to Arcot, where he lay inactive during the next six months. In November, shocked by the rapid occupation by the French of Tiruvaḍi, Villupuram and Gingee, Nāsir proceeded to lay siege to Pondicherry and was, on the night of December 16, surprised and slain on the field of battle at Dupleix-Fathabad, by the intrigue of his Dewān Shāh Nawāz Khān and the treachery of the Nawābs of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Savaṇūr.[13] In January 1751, Muzaffar Jang, forthwith recognised by Dupleix as the Subādār of the Deccan, set out thither, accompanied by de Bussy, Dupleix's lieutenant. On February 14, however, a conspiracy of the Nawābs at Rāchōṭi (Rāyachōṭi) cost his life. Thereupon Salābat Jang, third son of Nizām-ul-mulk, established himself with Bussy's help as the Subādār at Hyderabad (1751-1761), and Basālat Jang, a brother of Salābat, became Nawāb of Adoni. These developments tended to brighten the prospects of Chandā Sāhib in South India and to increase the prestige of his ally Dupleix (at Pondicherry) as the Governor of all India south of the Krishṇā.

Period of peace and security in Mysore, 1748-1751.

The years 1748-1751 were years of peace and security in the kingdom of Mysore. All through this period, Karāchūri Nanjarājaiya was, with his elder brother Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya, at the height of his power in Seringapatam,[14] steadily keeping his eye on the south.[15]

13. *Ibid.*

14. See *Nanjarāja-Yaśōbhūshaṇam* and other works of the period, noticed under *Literary activity* in Ch. XIII.

15. See *Di. A. Pi.*, VII. 406 (*Notes* dated October 16, 1750), referring to the Mysorean offer of assistance to the grandson of Changamala Dās and great-grandson of Vijayarāghava Nāyaka—who had taken refuge in Mysore—to recover the kingdom of Tanjore from the Mahrattas (*i.e.*, Pratāp Singh, 1740-1763), etc.

Mons. Dupleix.

The only event of note during these years, however, was the despatch of a contingent to Arcot under Barakki Venkaṭa Rao (1750) to take part in the *Karnāṭak War of Succession* (1750-1751).[16]

Fifth Phase: 1751-1755.

The contest for the Nawābship of Arcot and Trichinopoly (down to 1751).

Chandā Sāhib *vs.* Muhammad Alī.

To resume the general trend of affairs.[17] With the accession of Salābat Jang to the Subādāri of the Deccan (February 1751), political situation in South India assumed a new turn, and the question of succession to the Nawābship of Arcot and Trichinopoly came to the forefront. On the one side, Chandā Sāhib, who, as we have seen, was formally proclaimed as Nawāb of Arcot by Muzaffar Jang (August 1749), began to contest keenly the possession of Trichinopoly also, raising his pretensions to both the places as a representative, and relation, of the *Nawāyats*, to which community the early Nawābs of Arcot (1708-1744) belonged. On the other, Muhammad Alī, third son of Nawāb Anwar-ud-dīn (1744-1749), put forward his claims to succession to the Nawābship on the alleged ground of his appointment by Nāsir Jang and of his subsequent confirmation under a *firman*, real or supposed, from the Mughal Emperor Ahmad Shah (1748-1754). The cause of Chandā was espoused by the French (under M. Dupleix, Governor of Pondicherry, 1742-1754) who were favourites of the Nawāyat Nawābs of Arcot, and that of Muhammad Alī by the English (under Thomas Saunders, Governor of Fort St. George, Madras, 1750-1755), with whom he and his father Anwar-ud-dīn had maintained friendly relations since 1744, assisting them against their rivals, the French, during the period of the *War of Austrian Succession* in India (1744-1748),

16. *Haid. Nām.*, l.c. For details of services of this contingent on the occasion, see under *Rise of Haidar Alī* in Ch. X below.

17. *Vide*, for the general references on this section, *Wilks*, I. 303-387; *C. H. I.*, V. 119-124, 128-134; *Tanjore Dist. Gaz.*, I. 47-48, etc.

especially during La Bourdonnais' capture of Madras (1746) and Admiral Boscawen's siege of Pondicherry (1748). Since that war which terminated with the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle* (1748), these two commercial nations were nominally at peace in India but were really finding in the internal turmoils and dissensions of the times (particularly among the local powers of South India) an opportunity for war, in so far as it would conduce to their own interests. To Dupleix, however, belongs the credit of definitely initiating the policy of an European nation taking part in the affairs of Indian princes "as allies, not as principals" as the first step in any project of territorial expansion in the East, and, as indicated already, he made an admirable beginning in this direction, in the battle of Āmbūr (1749). This apart, the fortunes of Muhammad Alī in the Karnāṭak, during 1749-1751, were at a low ebb. He shut himself up in the fort of Trichinopoly and appears to have entered into a protracted negotiation with Dupleix at Pondicherry, professing to renounce his claims on Arcot, and consenting to the eventual evacuation of Trichinopoly in favour of Chandā Sāhib. In reality, however, Muhammad Alī was, all the while, only gaining time to complete an offensive and defensive alliance with the English, Murāri Rao, the Mahratta chief of Gooty, and the kingdom of Mysore, against his rival. The accession of Salābat Jang to the Subādāri of the Deccan in February 1751 seemed to revive his hopes of a favourable settlement of his cause at the hands of the latter who belonged to the very branch of the family by which he (Muhammad Alī) claimed to have been appointed as Nawāb. Accordingly, from this time onward, Muhammad Alī found himself engaged in contending with Chandā Sāhib for the Nawābship of Arcot on the one hand, and, on the other, in maintaining against him his own position in Trichinopoly.

The contest continued, 1751-1752.

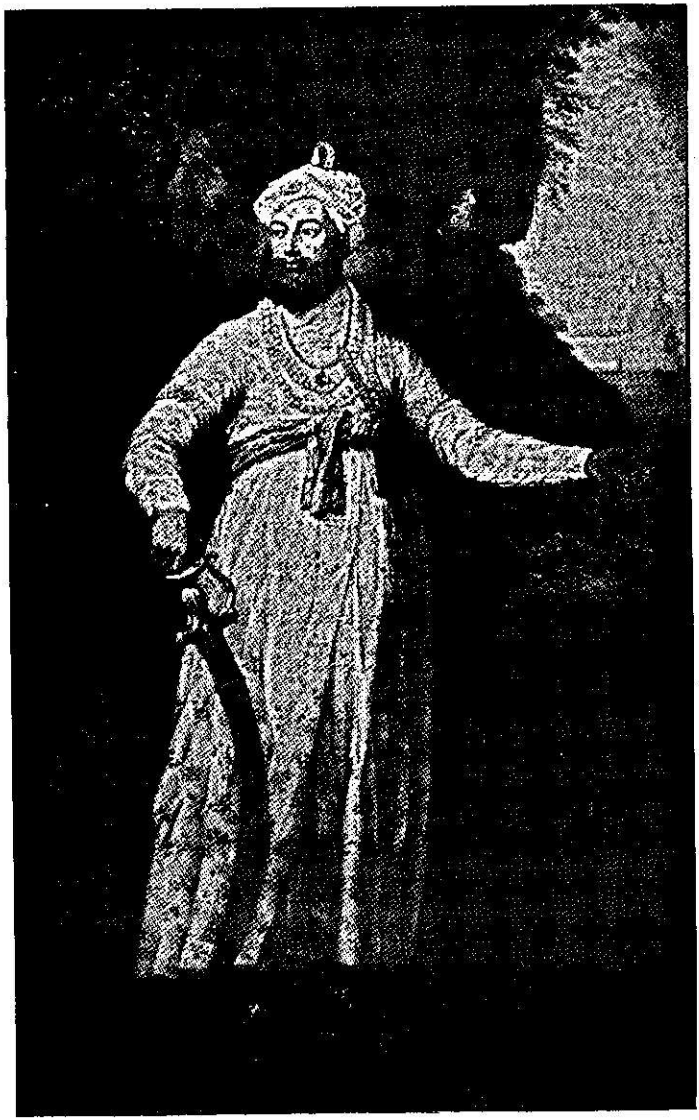
Hostilities commenced in May 1751 when a detachment of English troops under Captain Gingens set out from Madras to support Muhammad Alī, and Dupleix, finding that he had been tricked by the latter, despatched in his turn a contingent under d' Auteuil in aid of Chandā Sāhib, to capture Trichinopoly. The auxiliary armies appeared before the city in July and September, respectively. Towards the close of 1751, Chandā and the French—now commanded by Jacques Law—deceived a second time by the renewed negotiations of Muhammad Alī and his allies, invested Trichinopoly. Law, however, was able to achieve little success beyond intercepting the passage of provisions to the fort. In the meanwhile, the cause of Muhammad Alī seemed rapidly to gain ground. By the end of the year, he had succeeded in enlisting the support of the rulers of Mysore and Tanjore and of Murāri Rao of Gooty on his side, while the English, acting as his allies, had struck a serious blow at French prestige by Captain Clive's siege and capture of Arcot (September-October), one of the most memorable diversions that history records of. Nevertheless, Chandā Sāhib and Law continued the contest for Trichinopoly, taking up their stand in the island of Śrīrangam. In April 1752, Muhammad Alī secured a large convoy and the services of additional detachments of English troops under Major Stringer Lawrence and Captain Clive, who set to work to block up Law in Śrīrangam. Dupleix, seeing this imminent danger, despatched reinforcements under d'Auteuil who, however was forced to surrender at Valikoṇḍapuram on June 9. Three days later Law was himself taken prisoner with all his troops, and this was followed by the capture and treacherous execution of Chandā Sāhib at the hands of Mānāji, the Tanjorean general in the employ of Muhammad Alī.

The contest renewed, 1752-1755.

For the time being, the cause of Muhammad Alī thus seemed to triumph. But his allies, the English, during 1752-1754, found themselves drawn into an open conflict with the French under Dupleix who, despite the reverses of 1751-1752, successively upheld the claims of Razā Sāhib (1752-1753), second son of Chandā Sāhib, and of Ghulām Murtazā Khān (1753-1754), Killedār of Vellore and a son-in-law of Nawāb Alī Dōst Khān (1733-1740), to the Nawābship of Arcot, as against those of Muhammad Alī. At the same time, the latter's pretensions to Trichinopoly also received a severe check in a fresh, though protracted, struggle for that place (1752-1755) by the Mysoreans who, for reasons which will be explained in the sequel,[18] had with Murāri Rao seceded from his (Muhammad Alī's) coalition and been obliged to seek an alliance with the French against him (1752-1753). To the French and the English, the war on the Arcot question became an unceasing business in the south, which they were constantly advised by their respective home governments to put a stop to. To that end, a conference of representatives of these powers was held at Sadras between January 21-25, 1754, at which the English demanded of the French recognition of Muhammad Alī as "the Nabob of the Carnatic," while the French emphasised the authority of the Subādār of the Deccan as a factor of paramount consideration on the point at issue. The conference was marked by acrimonious discussions in regard to the validity of the titles of respective candidates of the powers to the Nawābship; it eventually proved a failure and war was renewed with vigour. In August, Dupleix, whose Indian policy was never wholly approved by the French

8. *Vide* Chs. VII—VIII below.

PLATE IX



Nawāb Muhammad Alī Wālājah.

government, was recalled and M. Godeheu succeeded to the Governorship of Pondicherry (1754-1755). In September, Godeheu, in strict accordance with the instructions of his superiors, concluded with Governor Saunders of Madras a provisional agreement—afterwards confirmed by an eighteen months' peace—by which the French and the English were to suspend their arms in the south for a period of three months as and from October 11. All through this period Muhammad Alī was in great straits, firmly adhering to his alliance with the English. It was not, however, till August 21, 1755 that he made his formal entry into the fort of Arcot as the English East India Company's "Nabob," having been recognised as such by M. Godeheu also in December 1754.

Foreign politics of Mysore, 1751-1755.

During 1751-1755, the kingdom of Mysore figured prominently in the affairs of South India.[19] As the chief executive officer of the State (*Sarvādhikāri*), Karāchūri Nanjarājaiya played in behalf of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar a leading role in the foreign politics of the times, while his elder brother Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya continued to manage the internal administration from the capital city of Seringapaṭam.[20]

19. Cf. *Wilks*, I. 309-387. His treatment of the affairs of Mysore pertaining to this period is, as may be expected from his avowed object, governed more by considerations of the general course of Anglo-French history in South India than by the realities of the issues involved from the Mysore standpoint. The sources now available to us and referred to here and in Chs. VII-VIII below, however, enable us to interpret and appraise the whole subject independently of Wilks to a considerable extent.

20. Most of the political and diplomatic documents of the period (1751-1755), noticed below, make formal mention of the "King of Misore [Mysore]," though the foreign affairs of the State were, according to them, actually in the hands of Daḷavāi Nanjarājaiya, referred to as "Dallaway Nandi Raj" (see also, on this point, Ch. IV, f.n. 33). It is further to be noted that Nawāb Muhammad Alī Wālājāh is generally referred to in these records by his father's name "Aneverdy Khan [Anwar-ud-dīn]."

Mysore's part in the contest for the Nawābship of Arcot and Trichinopoly, 1751-1752:

Trichinopoly, objective of the Daḷavāis.

The course of events in South India during 1748-1751, sketched above, appears to have enabled the Daḷavāi brothers, as early as May 1751, to concentrate their attention on the south of Mysore and to station a detachment of 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot at Diṇḍigal (an earlier acquisition of the kingdom),[21] with a view to safeguard her southern frontier and, if possible, to advance on Trichinopoly as circumstances might require. The acquisition of Trichinopoly was still the objective of Mysore an expansion in this region. It dominated as much the military as the diplomatic policy of Nanjarājaiya and his brother. Unless we bear this cardinal fact in our mind, we are not likely to understand the motives that guided them in their dealings with the foreign protogonists of the rival Nawābs and Nizāms. Nanjarājaiya, as we shall see, tried to promise aid to both in turn, and all the while his eye was on Trichinopoly and how to get hold of it for Mysore. Trichinopoly was the key to the Karnāṭak and he held fast to the view that it should be gained, whatever may happen. On its possession depended, in his view, the supremacy of Mysore over the south of India. Almost simultaneously it became the key-note of Dupleix's policy to enlist the support of the rulers of

21. *Di. A. Pi.*, VIII. 1: *Notes* dated May 3, 1751. Wilks (I. 387) speaks of the acquisition of Diṇḍigal by Mysore in 1745, though we have so far no independent evidence on the point. The probabilities are in favour of the view that the place was absorbed into the kingdom of Mysore during the convulsions which followed the extinction of Nāyaka rule in Madura (1736). *Diṇḍigal*: As a strategical point of great natural strength, commanding the Passes between Madura and Coimbatore, its possession was always keenly contested. Between 1623 and 1659, it was the scene of many encounters between the Bijāpur, Mysore and Madura troops. The Mysorean troops besieged it in 1625, in Tirumala Nāyaka's reign. In 1736, Chandā Sāhib stormed it. Taken by Mysore between 1736-1745, it was in 1755 garrisoned by Haidar, and used as a base by him for annexing Madura and Coimbatore. As the gate to Coimbatore faces the south, in Haidar's hands it proved a great obstacle to the operations of the English at Trichinopoly and Madura.

Mysore and Tanjore and the seventy-two Pāḷegārs of the Trichinopoly country, on the side of Chandā Sāhib.[22] About July, Mysore responded to Dupleix's invitation by sending Vakīls Gōpāla Dās and Narasinga Dās to the Governor of Pondicherry.[23] These activities attracted the attention of the English at Madras, whose Governor, Thomas Saunders, on August 23, wrote[24] to the king of Mysore, persuading him to join the side of Muhammad Alī against Chandā, and cautioning him against the motives of the French in regard to Mysore. In the meanwhile, Muhammad Alī, hard pressed by Chandā Sāhib at Trichinopoly, had sent his Vakīl Śēshagiri-Pant to the court of Seringapatam and entered into an agreement (*karāru*) with the authorities there, to cede the fort and country of Trichinopoly to Mysore as the price of her assistance to him in raising the siege of the place (Trichinopoly).[25] In part execution of that agreement, a detachment of Mysore horse and foot was to proceed to Muhammad Alī's immediate relief early in September,[26] while the English continued to press Mysore to support the claims of Muhammad Alī to the Nawābship of Arcot.[27] By September 6, the expected detachment under the command of Vīraṇṇarāj and Barakki Venkaṭa Rao, marching from Diṇḍigal, arrived within 30 *kos* of Trichinopoly,[28] finally reaching Karūr on

22. *Ibid*, 5: *Notes* dated May 24, 1751.
23. *Ibid*, 21-22: *Notes* dated July 8, 1751.
24. *Count. Corres.* (1751), p. 54: *Letter* dated August 23, 1751—Saunders to King of Mysore.
25. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 5; see also and compare *Fr. Corres.* (1752), p. 32 (*Correspondence* dated February 18, 1752), which speaks of Muhammad Alī as having undertaken to surrender Trichinopoly and its dependencies to Mysore "in consideration of an annual pension of eight lakhs of Rupees which this Raja [of Mysore] has promised to allow him." The authority of the local source is preferred here. For an explanation of the motives of Mysore underlying her agreement with the Nawāb, see Ch. VII below.
26. *Count. Corres.*, p. 56: *Letter* No. 117, dated August 29, 1751—Nawāb to Saunders.
27. *Ibid*, p. 57: *Letter* No. 120, dated September 5, 1751—Saunders to King of Mysore.
28. *Ibid*: *Letter* No. 121, dated September 6, 1751—Nawāb to Saunders.

the 14th.[29] By the 24th, Mysore had further provided Muhammad Alī with financial help to the extent of Rs. 80,000,[30] and on the 29th Karāchūri Nanjarājaiya set out with the main army from Seringapatam,[31] after subsidising, and settling matters with, Murāri Rao of Gooty who was to join him with 5,000 horse at Trichinopoly.[32]

Southern movements of Karāchūri Nanjarājaiya.

About the middle of October 1751, Nanjarājaiya reached Śrīrangam,[33] where, for nearly two months, he awaited the arrival of Murāri Rao. From there he exchanged also friendly letters with the Governor of Madras, assuring him of his support to Muhammad Alī.[34] Meanwhile, Muhammad Alī was eagerly expecting further supplies in men and money from Mysore,[35] and Chandā Sāhib, having crossed the Cauvery and the Coleroon, had encamped round the fort of Trichinopoly and was on bad terms with Mysore, menacing her safety.[36] At the same time, Dupleix had been alarmed by recent developments. In September, letters of Englishmen from Trichinopoly to Fort St. David about the non-arrival of the Mysore army had been intercepted at Pondicherry, and Dupleix, foiled in his objective, criticised the action of Mysore in joining Muhammad Alī, threatening to invade her and seize her fortresses if she assumed the offensive against the French or helped

29. *Ibid*, p. 58 : *Letter* No. 124, dated September 14, 1751—Saunders to Nawāb.
30. *Ibid*, p. 61 : *Letter* No. 129, dated September 24, 1751—Nawāb to Saunders.
31. *Ibid*, p. 65 : *Letter* No. 140, dated October 20, 1751—Mysore Vakīl to Saunders.
32. *Ibid*.
33. *Ibid*, p. 66 : *Letter* No. 141, dated October 20, 1751—Daḷavāi to Saunders.
34. *Ibid*; also *Ibid*, p. 70 : *Letter* No. 152, dated November 1, 1751—Saunders to Daḷavāi.
35. *Ibid*, p. 62 : *Letter* No. 133, dated October 5, 1751—Nawāb to Saunders ; pp. 63-64 : *Letter* No. 136, dated October ? 1751, and p. 69 : *Letter* No. 150, dated November 1, 1751—Nawāb to Saunders.
36. *Vide* f.n. 33 *supra*; also *Di. A. Pi.*, VIII. 58-59, 67 : *Notes* dated September 14 and October 11, 1751.

Muhammad Alī.[37] But the Mysorean Vakīl Narasinga Dās at Pondicherry had been directed to declare that no help would be sent from Mysore to Muhammad Alī and that the troops (of Mysore) had marched "only as a measure of precaution."[38] Further, in November, while Muhammad Alī and the English were becoming impatient at the delay in the arrival of the allied troops (of Tanjore, Mysore and Murāri Rao) to the relief of Trichinopoly, Nanjarājaiya, obviously to gain time and be on the safe side, offered Chandā Sāhib and the French promises of his assistance.[39] He proposed through his Vakīl an agreement with Chandā, the terms of which were, that both the parties were to remain mutual friends; that that part of the Trichinopoly country which had remained long in the possession of Mysore, was not to be interfered with; that the Pāḷegārs who had joined Mysore were not to be molested; and that for the maintenance of 2,000 horse and 5,000 foot (of Mysore) who were to remain constantly with Chandā, the latter was to assign lands adjoining the Mysore territory, yielding rupees three lakhs annually.[40] Chandā Sāhib on his part, seeing that Nanjarājaiya was the stronger party, consented to these terms, promising not to molest any Pāḷegār except him of Toreyūr (Turaiyur), and assigning Soṇḍikoppam and certain countries seized by Toṇḍamān in satisfaction of the last clause.[41] Dupleix not only approved of this negotiation but also, as desired by Chandā, directed a letter to be written to Nanjarājaiya to the effect "that he would fulfil Chanda Sahib's agreement."[42]

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37. *Di. A. Pi.*, 57-58: *Notes* dated September 14, 1751.
38. *Ibid*, 58-59: *Ibid*.
39. *Ibid*, 69: *Notes* dated November 8, 1751; cf. Dodwell's *Editorial note* (l. c.) with reference to the sequence of events developed above.
40. *Ibid*, 69-70: *Ibid*.
41. *Ibid*.
42. *Ibid*, 70-71: *Ibid*.

Progress of the Mysoreans and Murāri Rao.

At last, however, towards the close of November, Murāri Rao, with Katti Gōpālarāja Urs from Bangalore, proceeded with a large army towards Arcot, to join Nanjarājaiya at Śrīrangam.[43] Early in December, the combined force, consisting of 10,000 horse (including the 5,000 horse of Murāri) and 50,000 foot, resumed its march in the direction of Trichinopoly.[44] Disappointed at this news, Chandā Sāhib despatched a detachment of his troops to intercept the progress of the Mysoreans and Murāri.[45] An action took place at Krishṇarājapuram, in which Mahbūb Sāhib and Saiyid Yākūb, officers commanding Chandā's detachment, were taken prisoners, and the allied forces advanced on Karūr.[46] About the close of December, Chandā Sāhib attempted again to intercept the latter, but Abdul Wāhab Khān, under instructions of his elder brother Muhammad Alī, was able successfully to lead one-half of the forces (including 3,000 Mahrattas) by a separate route towards Trichinopoly, leaving Chandā to contend with the other half.[47] By January 25, 1752 Nanjarājaiya and Murāri Rao had joined Muhammad Alī,[48] and the remaining troops by

43. *Press List* (1750-1754), p. 312: *Letter* No. 2049, dated December 2, 1751. In the light of other sources, the reference to "the Myšore King's brother" in this record is obviously to Katti Gōpālarāja Urs of Beṭṭadakōṭe, afterwards father-in-law of Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar II (see under *Domestic life* in Ch. XIII below). Of course, the relationship is incorrectly indicated in the document. See also *Di. Cons. Bk.* (1752), pp. 25-26, where Katti Gōpālarāja Urs is referred to as "Gopaul Rauze, the King's brother," who commanded at Trichinopoly; and p. 66, where he is mentioned as the brother of [Nanja] Rāja! Immaḍi-Krishṇarāja Woḍeyar had no brothers, nor had Nanjarājaiya a brother by name Gōpālarāja besides his elder brother Daḷavāi Dēvarājaiya.

44. *Haid. Nām.*, ff. 5.

45. *Ibid.* 46. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid*; see also *Count. Corres.* (1751), p. 80: *Letter* No. 174, dated December 10, 1751—Nawāb to Saunders (referring to the Nawāb's despatch of Abdul Wāhab Khān to meet the Mysoreans and Murāri Rao).

48. *Mad. Desp.* (1744-1755), p. 148: *Despatch* dated January 25, 1752.

49. *Ibid*, p. 150: *Despatch* dated February 15, 1752; see also *Di. A. Pi.*, 93: *Notes* dated February 13, 1752.

February 15.[49] Thereupon Chandā Sāhib raised the siege of Trichinopoly and retired to Śrīrangam.[50]

Their services to Muhammad Alī and his allies during the contest.

During the last phase of Chandā Sāhib's contest for the possession of Trichinopoly (February-June 1752), the Mysoreans and Murāri Rao distinguished themselves as allies of Muhammad Alī and the English. In particular, they actively assisted in Captain Clive's blockade of Law in Śrīrangam (April-June),[51] while a detachment of Mysorean and Mahratta troops under Barakki Venkaṭa Rao co-operated with the English at Samayavaram and Koyilādi in intercepting the passage of provisions to the camp of Chandā and the French (May),[52] and during Clive's attack on d'Auteuil at Valikoṇḍapuram (June).[53] They were, on the whole, of considerable service to their allies in the course of events leading to the surrender of Law and Chandā Sāhib at Śrīrangam (June).

Muhammad Alī's attitude towards Mysore.

Far different, however, was the attitude of Muhammad Alī towards Mysore all through the period, an attitude which, as we shall see, was directly responsible for the death of Chandā Sāhib. On the retirement of Chandā to Śrīrangam (February 1752), Muhammad Alī paid a visit to Nanjarājaiya, in the course of which, says the contemporary chronicle *Haidar-Nāmāh*,[54] he affected to hand over the keys of Trichinopoly fort to the latter and to permit him to garrison the place, professing at the same time his desire to be allowed an assignment of lands in Karūr, to live in peace. Nanjarājaiya, however, continues the chronicle,[55] believing in Muhammad Alī, soothed him by stating that he would secure him

50. *Ḥaid. Nām.*, l.c.
51. *Di. A. Pi.*, 111 : *Notes* dated June 16, 1752.
52. *Ibid*, 103, 107 : *Notes* dated May 15, and June 13, 1752.
53. *Fr. Corres.* (1752), p. 80 : *Letter* No. 17, dated August 3, 1752.
54. ff. 5. 55. ff. 5-6.

Haradanahaḷḷi in the Mysore territory as a *jahgīr* after putting to flight Chandā's troops, and handed back the keys to him. He not only allowed Muhammad Alī to return to the fort with a select retinue but also lent him a further sum of 10,000 *varahas* for the expenses of his troops. Then Muhammad Alī bribed and won over to his side Murāri Rao and the Tanjorean general Mānāji, and, while continuing his professions of friendship and attachment to Nanjarājaiya, began systematically to obstruct the passage of the latter's men to and from the fort of Trichinopoly. In the meanwhile, Chandā Sāhib (who was on the point of surrendering to the English at Śrīrangam, during May-June), having caught scent of the shifting policy of his rival, sent his Vakīl to Nanjarājaiya, imploring him not to confide in Muhammad Alī and assuring him of his support in obtaining possession of the fort if he only took up his (Chandā's) cause. At first, Nanjarājaiya was not inclined to listen to Chandā's words. About this time, however, Muhammad Alī had gone to the extent of cuting off supplies of provisions to the Mysore troops encamped at Trichinopoly. At this intelligence, Nanjarājaiya understood fully the bent of mind of his ally and entered into an agreement (*kaulu*) with Chandā Sāhib through Mānāji, undertaking to station Chandā's troops on the banks of the Chintāmaṇi river, in readiness for an attack on Muhammad Alī. Alarmed at this news, Muhammad Alī spread the rumour that he had lost his control over the fort of Trichinopoly in consequence of a mutiny of the English troops for their arrears of pay, and that, however, the Mysoreans might take possession of the fort, provided they captured Chandā Sāhib. Nor was this all. He blocked up the Mysoreans who had previously entered the fort, and, having again bribed Mānāji, plotted against Chandā's life. At length, one night (? June 1752), Mānāji, having induced Chandā Sāhib and his

Dewān Śēshagiri Rao (prisoners at Śrīrangam) to leave the camp on the pretext of an alleged informal meeting with Nanjarājaiya, beheaded them as pre-arranged. Muhammad Alī quietly retired to the fort; the heads were, however, sent to Nanjarājaiya who later despatched them to Seringapatam where they were suspended on the Mysore Gate.[56]

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56. Orme relates the following story: "The head was immediately sent into Trichinopoly to the Nabob, who now for the first time saw the face of his rival. After he had gratified his courtiers with a sight of it, they tied it to the neck of a camel, and in this manner it was carried five times round the walls of the city, attended by a hundred thousand spectators, insulting it with all the obscene and indecent invectives peculiar to the manners of Indostan. It was afterwards carefully packed up in a box and delivered to an escort who gave out that they were to carry it to be viewed by the Great Mogul at Delhi; a practice generally observed to heighten the reputation of the successful cause; but there is no reason to believe that it was ever carried out of the Carnatic." (*A History of the Military Transactions in Indostan*, I. 241). Charles Dalton, author of the *Memoir of Captain Dalton*, comments thus on this sacrilegious conduct of the Nawāb: "However repulsive this conduct may seem, it must be remembered that the actors in it were ignorant heathens and the conduct of Mahommed Ali was much more excusable than that of His Most Christian Majesty Charles the Second, who ordered the body of his enemy Cromwell to be disinterred and hung in chains, besides heaping every possible indignity on the corpses of others of his enemies." (P. 144). Local tradition at Trichinopoly says that the remains of Chandā Sāhib are interred at the shrine of Nutterowlia, whose tomb—evidently built out of the materials of Hindu temples—is ascribed to the time of Mālik Kāfūr, who invaded Southern India in 1310. Chandā Sāhib is credited with the construction of the dome of this edifice (see *ante* p. 88, f.n. 86).